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The general perspective suggested by this paper is for the states to capitalize on the "new" educational money made available to them by Federal legislation to adopt a strategy for reforming its schools which includes (1) using the problem of the disadvantaged as the means for initiating widespread reform for all children, and (2) making institutional change the general criterion for investing any new money into education. From this vantage point the paper describes the educational and structural changes which would make the schools consonant with a dynamic contemporary society and which would provide a system of universal education from preschool through college. Discussed are such issues as (1) the organizational and bureaucratic rigidity of the most school systems, (2) the irrelevant curriculum which does not consider the concerns of the students nor their career development, (3) the educational manpower needs which can be partially met by nonprofessional aides, (4) the improvement of urban teacher preparation, and (5) the problem of segregation, desegregation, and integration. Recommendations for institutional change are included. (NH)

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THE DISADVANTAGED - CHALLENGE TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM: SOME POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

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Our society through its policy makers appears to be increasingly aware that a fundamental discrepancy exists between the purpose, process, and the product of one of its key institutions -- the schools. Although this discrepancy has been with us for some time it became a matter of national concern and commitment because of the growing international implications posed by the continued depletion in our human resources. Schools and education were quickly viewed as the key institutional vehicles for cultivating the human resources of the country. As such they were tied instrumentally to national defense, requiring the attention of the Federal government itself.

Two events of revolutionary proportions have illuminated the purpose-product discrepancy. The Sputnik era and the Civil Rights movement established the relationship between schools and their disadvantaged products. It was clear that the schools have failed both the economically privileged and the poor. The philosophical ideal of educating all the children of the society became a political and social necessity. Symptoms which have been manifest for some time were now subjected to careful diagnosis. Thus, early school leavers, although decreasing in number, are still viewed with alarm. Rejection rates for military service, although also decreasing, are present and subject to considerable concern, as is the problem of low scholastic achievement of the poor and minority groups, etc. These symptoms are diagnosed to mean that 1.) we are not educating all the children, and 2.) a large reservoir of human resources remains untapped. Clearly the product of the schools was not reflecting its purpose. For the first time it appeared

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that human development began to make good political and economic, as well as human sense.

The purpose-product discrepancy has led to a massive intervention program which involves the rehabilitation of the product. It is precisely this focus on the product that brought us into direct confrontation with the economically disadvantaged, the poor, and the culturally deprived. In short they are the most obvious casualties of our educational system. Schoolmen who have been dealing alone with these problems for a long time were suddenly promised and given assistance. Schools located in urban areas were given preference since they appeared to have the largest concentration of poor. Preliminary diagnosis of many of the poor and the disadvantaged, as portrayed by the literature, revealed them as being deficient not only economically, but familially, culturally and environmentally. This type of diagnosis led to prescriptions which were remedial in nature. The history of this movement dates back to the middle fifties and the Demonstration Guidance Project in P. S. 43 in New York City, which became the Higher Horizons Project and led to the Great Cities-Gray Areas Project of the Ford Foundation. It presently is being made national by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

This form of educational intervention has popularly been called "compensatory education." The strategy underlying compensatory education is quite direct: a child's deficiencies are studied and programs of concentrated remediation are launched.

Rehabilitating the product to fit the standard educational process appears to be a natural first step. In the first place, it is the least threatening to those involved with the problem because it focuses squarely on the learner. It communicates to the schoolman that children are not responding because of certain inadequacies in their background.

It assumes that by making up for these deficits they would become more amenable to the school program. Through extra services the learner can be made ready for the program. In essence this is saying that there is nothing wrong with the program but that something is wrong with the learner. Consequently, a "more of the same" technology results. As a result, when for example, early school leavers are invited back for a second chance, many proceed to drop out again.

Compensatory programs are additive programs. They do not alter the fundamental process itself nor the model that has been forged to educate children. Rather they add layers on to the old. Too, programs that attempt to get the child "ready" are accepted even when they are outside the educational system. For example, Head Start is viewed as getting the disadvantaged child "ready" for school by starting at an earlier age with him. Similarly, Upward Bound is viewed as getting the disadvantaged high school student ready to profit from college. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is seen as an attempt to make children of elementary and secondary age ready for the regular educational programs.

The results of compensatory education have not been encouraging. The students have appreciated the attention they have received, but simply doing "more of the same" with them has not produced significant results in terms of academic performance. (Data from Higher Horizons, the Great Cities Project, and More Effective Schools in New York confirm this verdict.)

When the Federal government made its enormously significant decision to invest large sums of money into America's educational system, two alternatives had to be considered to the question: How will this investment be used to improve education in the United States?

First, education could be improved by strengthening what is , i.e. improve our standard education process; the result - a better old process. Secondly , education could be improved by changing what is. Consider the consequences of the latter: One need only mention the fear of Federal control to delimit this alternative. However, those who undergird the legislation "left open" this alternative to the educational system. Thus Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act could be interpreted by the field as an opportunity to strengthen what is or as an opportunity to change what is.

To continue a compensatory educational strategy is to continue to get learners ready for an outdated educational system. The point that must be underscored here is that given an outdated educational system all learners are thus viewed as disadvantaged. One need only examine the drop-out rate in college, the performance of most citizens in the wider social arena, the apathy toward social injustice to high-light this issue. It appears clear that if Sputnik rendered the educational system inadequate for the privileged, it certainly will be inadequate for those who are underprivileged. Thus, the low income poor are the most obvious casualties.

The problem then is not with the learner. It is with the institution. To continue to expect compensatory education to solve the problem is to continue to expect the impossible. If compensatory education continues to serve one group of youngsters it will create two separate "systems," one for the advantaged and one for the disadvantaged. It must be emphasized again -- both groups are disadvantaged vis a vis an outmoded educational process. Unless we focus on the institutional process itself no real solution to improve education for any group can result.

Despite its failure to solve any problems completely, compensatory education has put a searchlight on the problem of the disadvantaged. Further, it has indicated that this generation is not prepared to sacrifice people while it searches for more wide-spread causes. Thirdly, it has made contact with the "establishment." In other words, compensatory education has served an extremely important role in making contact with the problem and with the people involved in its solution.

Consequently one does not view compensatory education as a mistake. Rather it is the first step in a series of planned steps aimed at structural overhaul of the entire process by which people are educated. As such it represents an almost necessary first step in a journey toward institutional reform. Those who would reform the institution say that the present educational process is not now geared and was never intended to deal with a diverse learning population. It was designed at a time when the real purposes of the school were different. For these reasons the present educational process is outdated, and does not therefore possess the capability of fulfilling its role in modern life.

What is called for is a system of universal education from early childhood through college, a system which has the capability of educating fully a diverse student learning population. This is a monumental undertaking and the biggest problem facing education in the decades to come. Without such a system, the cultivation of the human resources of the society will be seriously curtailed.

The development of a new educational process geared to diversity will be a search. It is not simply replacing one orthodoxy with another, or one monolithic structure with another. The new educational process is flexible, adapting, and self-revitalizing.

It does not have the answers but is engaging in a continuous inquiry into better ways of educating people.

This transition from compensatory education to institutional change, if it is to be made, represents a major task of the educational strategists. It is at this point that U. S. education finds itself. The package of Federal education legislation is providing "new" money which can have considerable impact on the education in the states. An overall perspective or strategy is needed to maximize impact. If the present Federal government's investment is in rehabilitating the product, it is because schoolmen have voted for it, i. e. compensatory education is what has been proposed in the "field" to solve the problem of educating the disadvantaged.

The new money would be used initially to cultivate the transition and emphasis from compensatory education to institutional reform and to help create new vehicles in the search for and development of a new educational process. Creating a climate for change and experimentation in each state is a major condition for improved education, as is the careful coordination and development of existing Federal programs.

The strategy called for is not a piece-meal strategy, nor is it putting "all the eggs in one basket." Thus, there are many promising "pieces" of innovation that are proving successful with low-income children, e. g. role playing, urban readers, etc. These approaches are certainly helpful but remain dwarfed by the dysfunctional system into which they must be fed.

On the other hand, some would advocate putting "all our money" into pre-school education. The rationale appears to be that this intervention will "nip" the problem "in the bud." The shortcoming of this line of reasoning is that the child still has from

12 to 20 years of schooling before him. Already research is suggesting that gains made during pre-school can be dissipated if the education in the subsequent years is not also improved. Further there is considerable concern among early childhood specialists that pre-school will be jumped into en masse prematurely. We simply do not know enough to warrant large scale spread at this time. More study is needed.

We need an across-the-board strategy which affects the total educational process, pre-school through graduate school. Anything short of this would be "tinkering."

ELEMENTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS NEEDING CHANGE

The process which governs the education of most children was forged in another century. Most of the ingredients that make up the process reflect "fixed" absolute notions of past centuries, e.g. fixed I.Q., fixed chronological graded system, all children studying the same thing at the same time, fixed curriculum, fixed knowledge, fixed classroom space, fixed rules and regulations, etc. This "fixedness" assumed that the "truth" was known and that the school had it. Consequently it was the responsibility of the learner to adjust to the school and learn "about" the truth. Learning about truth produced the "learned man."

Our century reflects a dynamic rather than static orientation. The truth is not known and must be searched out. Flexibility and adaptability are becoming essential qualities in the search. Individual differences among people are becoming one of the fundamental platforms for human service. The school in modern society must be equipped to deal effectively with diversity. This is the "new mold."

However, we cannot dismiss the problem simply by proclaiming that a new, more dynamic educational process is needed to replace the old. The question is how do

we move from the "old" to the "new," as quickly and as efficiently as possible?

It is to this question that I now turn -- starting with a perceived reality condition in the old process and suggesting strategies for movement toward the new. These strategies will culminate with policy recommendations which take into account the resources available and needed to develop institutional change. Most of the following recommendations appear to be geared to the disadvantaged. Their implications for all children should be apparent.

THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATIONAL RIGIDITY

Most school systems, especially large ones, are bureaucratic. A system of rules and regulations govern the actions of the organization in such a way that keeping "what is" going smoothly is the biggest preoccupation. Roles are defined vis a vis "what is" and the ability to "change" becomes organizationally difficult, if not impossible.

Also the normal bureaucratic flow of decision-making is from the top down. Every member of the organization is carefully supervised by a superior; e.g. students by teachers, teachers by principals, principals by central office, central office by superintendent, superintendent by school board, etc. The result of this form of organization is that a type of "closed" system develops, often impervious to outside recommendations for change. An equilibrium results and seeks to be maintained. The "system" is operating. It is impossible to ask it to stop itself. Schoolmen are living with this reality and they cannot be expected to keep this system running while creating a new system as well.

Moreover the requirements for admission to colleges and universities serve

as a lid to this system. Program changes in local schools are subject to the sanctions imposed by the institutions of higher learning. The school cannot jeopardize its students' chances for college by introducing innovations that the colleges may not recognize.

For many school systems the problem of the disadvantaged has provided an opportunity to disturb the present organizational equilibrium. The disadvantaged become an organizational problem which needs solving and necessitates departure from established procedures. As indicated the initial response to the organizational need has been to develop a remedial program in which "more of the same" was parceled out in more concentrated doses (more reading teachers, more guidance services, more trips, etc.)

If organizational rigidity is a central problem how can changes be introduced?

1) <u>MOBILIZING AND COORDINATING PRESENT FEDERAL EFFORTS</u>:

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Project Head Start, Upward Bound, and other established O.E.O. Projects can serve as important vehicles for change. Moreover many of these labs are processed through the states, giving the states a coordinative function. These Federal funds are distributed to virtually every school system in the states where low income youth are located. This means that literally every school system has some type of "demonstration" project with the disadvantaged.

<u>Recommended</u>: That each demonstration under Title I be organized as a research, development and training unit for the entire system where experimentation and innovation can be tested and disseminated. Training (pre and in-service) can be carried out for the entire district in cooperation with local colleges and universities.

There is nothing in the guidelines to Title I that precludes this arrangement. In fact there is some indication that it would be given preference. State monies should be utilized to supplement the creation of research, development and training units within each school system of the state. These units should be tied to the Regional Research Laboratory under Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and with the exemplary centers proposed under Title III of the same Act, and to Title XI of the NDEA (training professional staff working with disadvantaged).

Project Head Start: Project Head Start could be seen as a compensatory program for low income youth to prepare them for school. It can also be viewed as a legitimate means for going beyond this assignment by serving as a vehicle for changing the conventional educational system. By using its demonstration status as a platform for negotiating with the educational system we are asking for coordination with the school rather than isolation from it. (The term 'pre-school' suggests a separation). Linkage changes the equilibrium and forces concomitant changes to be considered right up the line. If Head Start has implications for the early years, then as K-3 programs become altered they too have implications for the middle school years, and so on up the ladder. This is known as a "bumping up" strategy.

The problem is that Head Start has remained out of the educational establishment. The states can encourage the local schools to take advantage of Head Start type programs as a way of improving their own primary programs. Where Head Start programs are already in existence they can be used as laboratories for experimenting with programs for three and four year olds through the public schools. As these experimental units prove

their worth, the State should consider gradual State-wide adoption of such units as a part of public school education.

State money can be used to build and develop Head Start projects into a series of early childhood experimental units in which the education of three and four year olds is coordinated with the education of five, six, and seven year olds within selected school systems. Local resources, including parents and teams (from universities, the community) from the fields of pediatrics, child psychiatry, clinical psychology, child development, reading, linguistics, etc. should be formed to plan and develop the early childhood units.

Project Upward Bound: Project Upward Bound is dependent on the cooperation of institutions of higher learning. The O. E. O. guidelines indicate an expectation that the academic institutions will select some students of considerable academic risk. The problem is not with the O. E. O. It is with the academic institutions and their feeling that academic standards will suffer with the entry of students who may have not been prepared for the "rigorous academic climate" of colleges. State officials can encourage the state colleges and universities to participate in Upward Bound type projects, and to utilize them for reforming admissions policies now governing entry. State stimulation can have a significant effect in easing the "stranglehold" colleges have on elementary and secondary programs.

Community Action Programs: Many O. E. O. anti-poverty community action programs develop a wide range of after school and evening programs for children and parents. Where possible these programs should be housed in the school and become part of a community school concept. Such coordination would help tie the school more closely to the community it serves. The blending of professional and sub-professional can have a positive effect on the climate and image of the school, while adding also dimensions of

functionality and utility to the total school program. The state officials should support community school development within local districts, especially those serving the poor. States can begin to adopt the view that the schools are for people rather than just children.

Recommended: That the states review the Federal programs for the express purpose of determining the extent of coordination. Federal legislation is so vast and the various titles diverse enough to warrant special attention. If it is found that coordination needs can be strengthened, the states should consider increasing staff positions to handle this function. Coordination to increase the total impact on the state educational systems is viewed along two dimensions: 1) Maximum interrelatedness among Federal projects, and 2) Relating these projects to institutional reform by seeing that they are not aimed at merely doing more of the same.

The states could well afford to invest their own money in systematic attempts at coordination of the Federal legislation on institutional reform. The impact "payoff" from such coordination makes the allocation of such money a bargain in the states.

2.) INTERNAL ORGANIZATION CHANGES: One of the most serious hindrances to improved education of the disadvantaged is that the teacher's role as decision-maker is seriously curtailed by the organization. The teacher is the closest agent to the learner, yet decisions concerning curriculum, grouping, grading, etc. are made by those furthest from the learner's reality. Moreover, teachers perform their roles in isolation from other colleagues. There is little opportunity for a teacher to plan with his peers during the school day. The result is that teachers become dependent on curricula developed by others -- curricula which may not be appropriate for the learners. Further, no organizational vehicle exists which permits the teacher to engage in a continuous process of

developing a more relevant instructional program for his students. He continues to work in isolation except for periodic faculty meetings, and remains the "low" person in the organization. His growth consists of accumulating course credit at a local college or university that is often irrelevant to the concerns of the teacher. The need for a functional in-service program persists, especially with teachers of the poor.

Recommended: That state-wide programs of released time for teachers to plan be initiated. Teachers would be released in teams on a regular basis during the school day. It is recommended also that a clinical instructor (this role is developed elsewhere in the paper), specializing in instruction from a local state college or university (school of education) be an integral member of these teacher planning teams, establishing a closer link between public schools and institutions. The teams would be responsible for developing proposals that would improve instruction for the students. Teaching teams could also serve as the "hub" which the new National Teacher Corps Program can utilize for training purposes.

In team planning, teachers will explore such promising practices as ungrading, programmed instruction, etc. The team now is the in-service vehicle for program development. Inherent in the team notion is an ongoing on-the-job retraining program related to each innovation being considered. We cannot expect a teacher with a "graded mind" to perform in an "ungraded" manner.

It is suggested that paralleling the team planning of teachers would be team planning by principals. Three or four principals from schools where teacher team planning is in operation meet on a regular basis to consider the changes proposed by the teacher planning teams. A clinical instructor specializing in administration for a local state college or university would be an integral member of this team. Colleges utilizing clinical

instructors can give teachers and principals course credit for the on-the-job team experiences.

Establishing such teams in local schools could accomplish a great deal in reversing the downward flow of decision-making. Such an organization releases the teacher as a professional person, and provides a mechanism for feeding directly and efficiently a variety of human and material resources.

Superintendents will also need help in bringing about an unfreezing in each school district. The role of superintendent does not lend itself always to the "change agent" role. When it does not a new role should be created. States should help create a new role in local school systems, especially in the larger ones, equivalent to a "vice president in charge of change." This official would report directly to the superintendent and be responsible for coordinating all of the experimental projects within the school system. Some school systems are using the title, Director of Special Projects, to describe such a role (e.g. Syracuse, New York).

PROBLEM OF IRRELEVANT CURRICULUM

The curriculum or "stuff" that is to be learned has been the subject of much discussion of late. In fact, a reform movement is said to be taking place at this time. The reform was triggered largely by Sputnik and basically is an attempt to revamp the basic content areas of science, math, history, etc. The scholar has found his way into curriculum construction, and this has had a positive effect on the updating of the basic disciplines.

However, the new curriculum is nothing more than updating the old. It is still based on the needs of the discipline. For many low income learners this content remains

irrelevant to their frame of reference. New books which depict urban living and others which have an interracial flavor, etc. all appear to be better than the old.

A more fundamental change in curriculum development needs to be sought, one which makes the needs of the learner the basis for curriculum revision, not the needs of the discipline. This gives curriculum a more affective rather than cognitive base. Thus, for example, in deciding a relevant curriculum for a disadvantaged Negro student group, it may involve assessment or diagnosis of the concerns of this group. Once these concerns are ascertained decisions concerning content and method can be made. For example, the concerns of powerlessness, disconnectedness, and poor self-image may be diagnosed. These in turn determine the kinds of concepts and skills that need to be taken from the disciplines, including sociology, psychology, anthropology, etc. which can assist the learner with his intrinsic concerns.

At any rate new patterns in curriculum based on a careful diagnosis of student concerns need to be explored. Teachers who have been responsible for implementing standard curricula will need help in the search. The team planning vehicle suggested earlier will be helpful as will the leadership of a clinical instructor.

Furthermore, the ability of the school to diagnose each learner in ways that have learning payoff are largely missing. Diagnosing the learner in terms of I.Q., reading level, etc. are imprecise measures leading to imprecise prescriptions. Part of the reading problem may be traced to imprecise diagnosis.

In order to increase the precision and relevance of diagnosis and prescription new resources will be needed, including a computer capability for keeping a continuous profile on each learner throughout his educational life. The individual profile would be changed as new input on each child is accumulated.

Recommended: States should consider the creation of regional diagnostic resource centers. Their purpose is to emphasize the role of diagnosis in developing more relevant curriculum. Each diagnostic resource center will house a multi-disciplined staff composed of a child psychiatrist, pediatrician, clinical psychologist, child development specialist, reading specialist, social worker, sociologist, anthropologist, counselor, academic specialist, and indigenous sub-professionals. Their role is to provide diagnostic service to the schools by working with the teams of teachers mentioned in another category. Their focus would not be simply on achievement, I.Q., or reading level. Rather, they would begin to deal with matters of learning styles, talents, career disposition, personality, staffing, cognitive level, affective concerns, specific causes for reading disability, etc. This would be a resource that would develop a continuous process of diagnosis for the duration of the learner's stay in formal education. This diagnostic capability should be built into the Supplementary Educational Centers under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act or the Regional Laboratories in Title IV of the same Act.

CAREER ORIENTED CURRICULUM

The standard curriculum emphasizes academic subject matter mastery. These hard core subjects -- English, History, Science, Math and language are viewed as basic to general education (liberal arts) and necessary for entry into higher education. A recent study, Project Talent, revealed that students view school as vocational preparation, not preparation for liberal arts. As a result many students find school courses having little relation to their career interest.

Serious questions are being raised concerning the lack of career relevance of the standard curriculum as conventionally organized and taught. An explicit career oriented

curriculum needs to be developed in at least four areas involving major roles. First, the work role constitutes a powerful basis for all school curricula. The dynamics of a changing work world necessitate a basic revamping of vocational education in our schools. Vocational education is still viewed as separate from general education. Schools still attempt to duplicate the world of work. Preparation for work must begin and continue from the elementary grades. Business and industry can train for a job, but schools educate for work.

Secondly, everyone agrees that the parental role is crucial to child growth and development, but where does one learn this important role? The answer -- it is left to chance.

Thirdly, preparation for citizenship has usually been seen as the school's job, but the performance of adults in the wide society has not exactly served to support the school's success in this.

Lastly, each individual is ideally provided an opportunity to grow as a person, and to feel that his own potential is being cultivated -- new talents developed, his self-concept improved, etc.

It is suggested that these career patterns become the central themes for curriculum development. For example, the work career might include:

Elementary years (4-9): Explore technical devices through manipulative strategies involving the tools of industry and engage in the actual processes that are rewarded in a technological world of work.

Intermediate years (10-13): Planned exposure to the world of work through visitations, speakers, simulations, etc.

High school years: Work-study type experiences. Why should schools attempt to duplicate the world of work when they have the real work at their disposal? The actual world of work becomes the clinical lab for education. It is assumed that academic concepts and skills will have more relevance if connected to these processes from early childhood through high school.

Learning through teaching others at all levels would be introduced. This approach not only leads to learning for the "teacher" as well as the "student," it sensitizes the student to a whole order of skills which may be needed in the service sector of the world of work.

The parent career sequences might emphasize in addition to "cross age" teaching at every level, the use of the school's early childhood division as the "clinical setting" for gaining insights into child behavior. Each older student becomes a member of a team of child development specialists who diagnose, prescribe, and evaluate a variety of approaches to the child.

The citizenship orientation provides opportunities for pupils to experience decision-making and activity in social problems, actually involving various forms of direct action against an injustice, e.g. a needed traffic light at a dangerous intersection. The principle behind citizenship orientation becomes thoughtful action for the common good.

The career in personal development might involve study in what Huxley called "non-verbal" humanities, cultivation of talents, and creative expression.

Since the careers are defined behaviorally (what a person does) evaluation of educational outcome will be more possible. A career oriented curriculum sequentially developed provides the learner freedom of movement within the system without penalty,

e. g. he may transfer among programs as well as leave school and return.

It appears clear that the conventional resources commonly available to the educator will not produce such a curriculum. Such a curriculum is dependent upon an individually tailored program for each child, beginning at age three or four and proceeding throughout the learner's years of schooling.

Recommended: States encourage the development of a career oriented curriculum for students. For example the states could consider curriculum preparing students in four major career orientations:

1.) Career in work world

2.) Career as a parent

3.) Career as citizen

4.) Career in personal development

Resources from business, industry, government, psychology, etc. could work along with schoolmen in developing the behaviors expected (behavioral objectives) as the end product in each career orientation. From these objectives, experiences, activities, and content can be planned a curriculum which prepares the student in each career. Subject matter teachers could be assigned on the basis of each career. Again the multi-disciplined diagnostic resource center recommended earlier or the Supplementary Educational Centers or the Regional Lab under Titles III or IV could provide a new team of talent to work with the schoolmen to create such a dynamic curriculum.

MANPOWER NEEDS

The problem most often cited by teachers of the disadvantaged is class size. Teachers feel that they cannot cope with large groups of students. It is difficult for a

teacher to individualize instruction in any meaningful way when he is left alone to deal with large student groups.

This ordeal places a burden on teachers and does not put them in a frame of mind to consider innovation and change. Title I has made money available to reduce class size and to relieve the teacher of those children who are "socially maladjusted." As helpful as this may be, it has not made a "dent" on the problem.

Riessman and Pearl and others have suggested another possible solution to the problem, utilizing large numbers of people drawn from the poor themselves. By creating such new educational roles as teacher aide and assistant, the manpower problem can be solved.

By categorizing the tasks of the teacher and reallocating the appropriate tasks to the aides and assistants a new educational career pattern is created. Thus, the professional teacher is relieved of the multitude of clerical, technical, and management assignments which he has had to perform, and given a new status. The positive effect on the self-esteem of the professional teacher can be sizable. This is especially crucial in urban areas where teacher dissatisfaction and turnover appear greatest.

Moreover, by creating new sub-professional careers for the poor, an important contribution is made in providing the poor with career opportunities that are important, challenging and dignified.

Recommended: That the states sponsor a series of experiments utilizing non-professional aides to teachers. This program would actually be aimed at producing new careers in education and the establishment for experimental purposes of the career pattern of aide and assistant to work with the professor and teacher. The states have an excellent

opportunity to increase the manpower needs in education through the development of new roles. This need for professional assistants for teachers in the classroom has been recognized for a long time. This will be especially adaptable to urban areas where the manpower needs appear to be most crucial. The use of this new kind of para-professional manpower serves a number of functions:

1.) It would free teachers from many non-professional duties such as taking attendance, setting up technical aides, taking children on trips, etc.

2.) It would provide personnel to staff community schools.

3.) The para-professional would serve as role model to disadvantaged children and youth.

4.) The para-professional would assist the professional teacher with the problem of "understanding the disadvantaged child."

5.) The para-professional would serve as liaison person with the community.

The states should create special conditions of certification in order to facilitate the development of these new educational career roles.

TRAINING NEEDS

It is clear that teachers from urban areas have not been prepared to deal with the population they are asked to serve. Moreover, those presently enrolled in teacher training programs are not being adequately prepared for urban schools. A radical change in teacher preparation programming is needed, especially in those colleges and universities which produce the greatest number of teachers. Present programs of teacher preparation assume that any school can serve as a training school. The results indicate that simply assigning pre-service teachers to student teaching assignments in urban schools

is not enough. Real clinical schools need to be developed in which the trainee's role is being influenced and shaped by the very environment and climate of the schools. The clinical schools can be utilized for training a variety of educational roles, e.g. principals, counselors, sub-professionals, etc. This involves school and college collaboration which is quite different from the relationship which now exists between the two.

Furthermore, the total resources of the colleges and universities have scarely been applied to urban problems and school improvement efforts, e.g. college students (freshmen, sophomores, etc.) have not been given a meaningful role with disadvantaged children, professors have not tapped the research potential of the urban laboratory, etc. It is clear that school and college partnerships can serve as an important vehicle for educational improvement in both institutions.

Recommended: States should mobilize their colleges and universities in school improvement efforts with special emphasis on the disadvantaged. The states have unusual power and prestige to influence the direction the state colleges and universities can take in terms of school improvement efforts. Although state colleges and universities have been concerned with the problem and have been engaged in programs with local school systems as far as practice teaching is concerned, it is apparent that the times demand a closer involvement, a closer partnership of the state colleges with the local school system (e.g. REAP at Rutgers). It is recommended therefore that special effort be made for the state colleges and universities to concentrate their resources on the problem of improved education. It is time for a commitment to be made in terms of the usual dichotomy that is made between higher education and the public schools, between theory and practice, between the producer and the consumer, between pre and in-service education.

The state system of higher education is asked to consider:

1.) Embarkation on a program of specialized preparation for teachers for urban areas. It is clear that teachers from urban areas have not been prepared to deal with the populations they are asked to serve. Programs which have an urban emphasis need to be established and based on a symbiotic relationship between school and college. These clinical schools can be established if the resources of the total university or college are utilized in its development. Certain urban schools need to be transformed into clinical schools, the policy for which is a shared responsibility.

This would require the college or university to work intimately with the local school systems, to pool resources and actually to build a school with the capability not only for educating disadvantaged children fully, but for training urban teachers as well.

The school and college partnership involves the development of clinical centers. (Project Apex at NYU and P.S. 57 in the Bedford Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn is an example of this type of development.) Such an arrangement is analagous to the medical school-teaching hospital association utilized so successfully by the medical profession.

The development of these demonstration and experimental schools provides research opportunities for college-wide or university-wide involvement where professors from all disciplines are encouraged (through special incentive type grants) to engage in action research utilizing the public schools as the laboratory. The assumption here is that through involvement with the "reality" setting, the professors themselves would

have revitalized their own effectiveness as teachers at the college or university level.

2.) A program of tutorial roles with local schools throughout the states, especially with the disadvantaged populations (similar to the Youth Education Services in North Carolina). The tutorial programs would be in a variety of areas from reading and arithmetic on the one hand, to current events and test-taking on the other. The experience is expected to be as valuable to the college student as it will be to the child being tutored.

3.) New joint roles between colleges and universities and public schools. These roles have a clinical emphasis, i.e. theoretical application in the reality setting. Roles such as "clinical professor" are desperately needed to improve teacher preparation and development. Such clinical roles should not be necessarily subjected to the same "credentials" as the more subject-oriented professor. Experience and performance should be considered as more important than an accumulation of professional courses.

Certain of the clinical roles will be instructional and others may be administrative. These clinical professors will work with teachers (and be a part of team planning in local schools), principals, and other administrators.

4.) The creation of a new training program for sub-professionals and for trainers of sub-professionals, similar to those developed by Frank Riessman in New York.

5.) Establishment of an in-service program for the college staffs, the teachers of teachers. They are provided with opportunities to gain an urban orientation through such activities as special travel and study awards, released time to teach in urban schools, special services, etc.

Such a program to establish an urban orientation for the state colleges (70% of the United States is urban) will necessitate in-service training opportunities for professors

of education and for the teachers of teachers. Through travel and study type awards, released time to teach in public schools, assignment in jointly operated school and college demonstration schools, special seminars, etc., the educating of educators will be approached squarely.

PROBLEM OF SEGREGATION, DESEGREGATION, AND INTEGRATION

Several of the large urban areas have non-white school enrollments that are well in excess of 50% (e.g. Washington 89%, Newark 65%). At this stage these trends are difficult to reverse. The exodus of the white middle class continues.

There is an unmistakable relationship between income and race which unfortunately at this time leads to segregated educational programs. For example, the Federal legislation makes low-income a condition for program consideration. In some urban areas this means programs for Negroes. The result is segregated education. Educators must make it clear that segregated schools, both white and non-white shortchange the learners experientially. As such, segregation has a negative effect on learning, the key role of the school.

One of the major reasons for the flight of the white population is the concept of a good school employed by most middle class families -- namely that good schools are places which good children attend, i.e. a good school is defined by who attends, not by the quality of its programs.

The pattern has been that desegregated schools soon become resegregated (desegregation involves a physical mix). This is especially the case when no attention is given to specialized programming. To move from a state of desegregation to integration requires a systematic change in the organization and program. The current state of the

art suggests that such innovations as ungrading, programmed instruction, inter-group education, group counseling, and independent study are helpful in that they emphasize competition with self rather than competition with others. Individual rather than group norms become salient. Parents whose concern is based on a feeling that school desegregation will be at the expense of their child's progress may be reassured if the program emphasizes individualized instruction where everyone proceeds at his own rate.

Recommended: That as part of each individual state's commitment to integrated education a program of communication should be undertaken involving the State Department of Education, and teacher organizations to interpret quality education in terms of school program and the negative effects of segregation on the white students.

One dimension that may help is a stronger voice from the professional on the negative effects of segregation.

While desegregated schools are being encouraged, those that are segregated must be qualitatively improved. If we concentrate our efforts on those schools now segregated we can hope that schools that are qualitatively superior will attract a diverse student population, and this will lead to integration. At any rate, the quality of the schools must be determined by the program and not by the student body.

In a newly desegregated school strong attempts must be made to introduce program changes that will tend to stabilize the student population (programs like ungraded classrooms, team teaching, programmed instruction, computerized instruction, etc.) The state should assist newly desegregated schools with program changes leading toward individualizing instruction. Moreover the state should encourage experiments which promote integration, such as regional cooperation among school systems.

The states should sponsor a number of adventuresome experiments which are aimed at providing alternatives to some of the more "hopeless" problems. One of the toughest problems is finding alternative patterns for improving our big school systems. One pattern which can be explored is for big city school boards to contract with private organizations to operate certain of the "city" schools.

Recommended: 1.) That states make monies available to certain large city school boards to contract with private corporations, e.g. R.C.A., I.B.M., Xerox, Standard Oil, etc., to run a model school or cluster of schools. Contracts for operating these schools would be open to several companies on a competing basis.. Once the contract is awarded, the private corporation should be given freedom to apply its "know how" to the school (s).

2.) The states should establish special contracts with state colleges and universities for managing a section of the city schools. Under this pattern a "piece" of the school system would be run by the college.

3.) The states should assist in planning and creating an entirely new model urban community. This model city would be built from"scratch" and put into practice all of the best thinking concerning an educational system which is coordinated with the city's recreational, governmental and cultural services.

4.) The states should help support model sub-systems within the larger urban school systems. This would involve creating a system within a system to revitalize the host system. The sub-system would be free to depart from the established practices, e.g. hire from the outside, new curricula, etc. The sub-system could be utilized to feed out ideas to the larger system or it could gradually expand and replace the larger one.

CONCLUSION

The general perspective suggested by this paper is for the states to capitalize on the "new" educational money made available to them by Federal legislation to adopt a strategy for reforming its schools which includes a.) using the problem of the disadvantaged as the means for initiating wide-spread reform for all children, and b.) making institutional change the general criterion for investing any new money into education.